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IS AMERICA UNFAITHFUL?

Earl Grey Says Responsibility for the Continuing Horrors of War Rests With United States, Which Has Sold Birthright as World's Peace-maker for a Mess of Comfort and Munitions Contracts



EARL GREY.

In the light of President Wilson's speech advocating a world peace conference after the war, the following interview with Earl Grey will be read with special interest. In principle the two men are in accord. But the British statesman believes the United States has missed a great opportunity, may even have compromised the future.

"What weighs down my heart is the fear that the official attitude of America to the war may postpone the realization of my cherished ideal of a close Anglo-American concert for the promotion of a higher and better civilization."

"If Andrew Carnegie's plan had been realized three years ago I do not believe the present war would have taken place."

"In this supreme crisis it appears to me that you have failed."

These sentences give an idea of the striking quality of the interview. It is in effect a British presentation of the subject treated by President Wilson in his speech.

By EDWARD MARSHALL.

HERE is an arraignment of the United States by a great Englishman, an Englishman who knows us, who loves us, who, indeed, has been one of our best friends among his countrymen.

In it Earl Grey tells us that we have been unfaithful to the sacred cause of civilization, that we have been guilty of "The Great Refusal"; that, instead of following Andrew Carnegie's suggestion and becoming the world's peacemakers, we have shown an indifference to the interests of humanity and to the rights of man and have sat back immaculate in the cabin while others laboriously have pulled the oars of the world, and that consequently we are responsible for the prolongation of the world war and all the suffering which that entails.

It may be that I especially was impressed because but two days previous to our first meeting in London I had looked on, helpless and horrified, while two score or more women and children drowned before my eyes and American citizens lay wounded near to death, victims of a German torpedo deliberately fired at the Channel steamer Sussex, on which I was a passenger and which (I knew and know) carried no troops, bore no munitions and had aboard more women and children than men.

To see such murder of the innocents is an appalling experience. To know the criminals' identity and keep silence—and with my own eyes I saw a bit of the torpedo which was blown into the ship—would be vicious. To go almost directly from such a scene of horror into the presence of a powerful personality like Earl Grey—powerful though he rose from a sick-bed to see me—and there hear him charge us, the United States, with a share of the responsibility for the mother murder and the baby killing was an extraordinary and unpleasant affair.

But I had seen the helpless victims die; I had seen the bit of the torpedo almost before it had had time to cool, and I heard Earl Grey reply amazingly to my inquiries. Read what he says and draw your own deductions, as I have drawn my own. He has carefully revised his statement.

"Humanity," said Earl Grey, tall, slender from illness, "has come to the parting of the ways. The world is engaged upon a struggle in which are engaged upon the one side those who uphold the ideals of freedom, law and democracy and upon the other those who uphold the divine right of the strong to live at the expense of the weak and

to crush all who may stand in the way of their aggressive and selfish development. This struggle is of an importance as great to your country, the United States, as to mine, England."

Earl Grey knows America better than any other member of the British House of Lords, and up to now has been her constant and consistent champion. For a long time he lived just across our boundary, being Governor-General of Canada, and during that period he learned to love us. He is a member of one of the very old political families of England and is a cousin of Sir Edward Grey, the present British Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

In March, 1906, at the Pilgrims dinner in New York, he gave expression to his faith that the realization of the highest interests of humanity depended upon a close cooperation between the English speaking races, a faith which he holds as ardently to-day in London as he did ten years ago in New York. This makes the stand which he takes in this remarkable interview all the more striking.

"Ever since I left college," he said, "it has been the cherished dream and ambition of my life to see before I die such a cooperation in the field of disinterested endeavor of the English speaking peoples as will enable them by the moral force of their common ideals and the power of their joint strength to secure for suffering humanity the blessings which flow from the safe enjoyment of equal rights and the prompt and effective enforcement of international law."

"The great war on which we are engaged is a war not so much between rival nations as between the contending and eternal principles of right and wrong, and it is my belief that on our victory, for the achievement of which we are prepared to sacrifice, if necessary, our last dollar and our last drop of blood, depend the hopes not only of the whole world, including the United States, but of the Germans themselves. That our two nations are not standing side by side in this great struggle I confess appears to me to be an anomaly, for it is my belief that British and American ideals are the same."

"It is my hope that out of the great crisis may come a recognition of their joint responsibility by the two English speaking peoples, who have similar ideals of liberty, law and democracy, and the degree of my hope may be measured by the depth of my conviction that if this does not occur the highest and noblest interests of the world may be endangered."

"England's greatness in the past, due to her national traditions that no

individual should have rights which do not also accept the burden of corresponding duties. The most definite and gratifying result of this war so far has been the clarity with which this old and sometimes forgotten truth has been revealed."

"It is an ideal by no means solely England's. It has been that of the United States. It has been that of every worthy religion since the world began."

"Under the operation of this ideal

sally accepted but not universally applied principle."

"The old English idea was that a man's power in the State must depend upon his service to the State, and I believe a return to that ideal as the governing principle of democracy is essential if the world is to progress steadily. When the principle of duty, based on the foundation of liberty, is recognized as the saving principle of democracy, it is possible that in the most enlightened democracy no person

and women too, are at the oars, and they recognize that the battle they are waging is not theirs alone, but yours as well."

"The greatest danger which now threatens that much to be desired cooperation between the Anglo-Seltic peoples, on the existence and strength of which the future happiness of the world depends, is that the British democracies may begin to feel toward your great republic as the men bursting their hearts at the oars of the

a moral if not a material Anglo-American combination for the promotion of a higher and better civilization."

"England's entrance into this war was absolutely non-selfish. She drew the sword that she might keep her word with a friend and enforce international obligations. We learned later that our own self-preservation would have required us to prevent Belgium and France from being conquered by Germany. But when war was declared this was not understood by the people, who had not realized the true character of German ambition."

and readiness, and when occasion comes for the subjugation and arrest of any one who may violate international rights."

"This idea is the great contribution which Carnegie has made to the cause of advancing civilization. I have always regarded that as the essentially American ideal—the thought that every nation must do its share in the protection of the interests of the commonwealth of nations, must contribute its proper share of force toward the maintenance of international law. England now is doing that and more than that. America is doing very much less than that."

"If Andrew Carnegie's plan had been realized three years ago I do not believe the present war would have taken place. It is not an impracticable plan. It can be realized as soon as the world has been educated up to it."

"Now what the enlightened nations

tion a false ideal has been set up—a narrow minded ideal, considering only and exclusively the rights and material happiness of the American people, forgetting those of others. The present difference between British and American ideals, as expressed through our respective governments, is that America apparently is only interested in maintaining the rights of Americans, while it is the ambition of every Briton to safeguard and promote the rights of man."

"Long ago it was pointed out by the Italian Mazzini, the greatest prophet of the last century, that any conceivable doctrine of rights and material happiness only as opposed to that of duty will but result in that worst of crimes, a civil war between class and class. Mazzini referred to national psychology. The identical rule applies with equal force to international psychology."

"From the same lips came the statement that both individual and national responsibility begins upon the very day when either individual or nation realizes fully what path should be followed to transform society and neglects to pursue it."

"That would appear to be the crime against yourself and against civilization which in the time of this great crisis has been committed by America. You knew the path which you should follow, yet you did not follow it."

"Americans like Roosevelt, Root and Elihu, your American press which in many instances and in the very early days of the war analyzed its true meaning with splendid and uncompromising ability, pointed out the way to you, yet America would not follow it, and there came from your people no protest of a civilized nation to cause your Government to take action."

"To what do you attribute this which you believe to have been our failure?"



the family and the country are two circles within a larger circle which contains them both, namely, that of humanity. They are two steps of the ladder of ascending civilization. Without their ascent is impossible. Upon them it is forbidden to rest."

"No individual, no nation, can divorce its life with impunity from that of humanity. As your brilliant writer, Owen Wister, has pointed out, no country can proclaim itself the champion of the brotherhood of man and then claim for itself the right to a separate soul."

"Man has no right because he lives, but has rights and has rights only if he lives nobly. I believe we all must come to recognition of this univers-

shall have the right even of suffrage unless that person has earned the right through service."

"Picture to yourself a boat in which the stout hearts are breaking as they tug at their oars while the 'conscientious objectors' sleep as passengers and occasionally wake to contribute themselves upon the whiteness of their garments and the stainless purity of their hands. What do you suppose is the feeling of the workers for the shirkers in the cabin?"

"England is not striking in this war. With the exception of a few whose only idea of liberty is that they have a right not to serve the State, and to throw the burden of necessary duties on the volunteers, all her men

beat feet toward the idle people in its cabin."

"In believing as I do that the future peace and righteousness of the world depend in large measure on the near approximation in ideas of the Anglo-Seltic peoples, I should regard it as a disaster of the greatest magnitude if the British democracies should be taught by you Americans to think of you in the same way as they are beginning to think of the 'conscientious objectors'."

"What weighs down my heart at present is the fear that the official attitude of America to the war may postpone the realization of my cherished ideal of a close Anglo-American concert for the protection of mankind; of

"It was from my friend Andrew Carnegie that I learned that the best way to insure the peace of the world would be through the establishment of a general readiness of the civilized nations to wage universal war for universal peace and through the collective employment of an organized force for the arrest and punishment of the violator of international rights. It is obvious that the peace of each community can only be guaranteed by its determination to wage universal war against the wreckers of universal rights by keeping its armed forces, its police, ever ready to do battle with the disturbers of the peace, and to fight if need be for the freedom of the individual and the safety of its home."

"No international peace must be preserved by its policeman, organized and trained and paid for watchfulness

of the world must bend their energies to accomplish is the education of the world up to that plan, and it is my firm belief that this can best be accomplished through cooperation between England and the United States. That is why, looking to such cooperation as the best means of securing for all peoples a happier existence, I dread the possible effect of the present admission of official America to the war. The fact that your country has stood aside with folded arms while international law has been stabbed and murdered may lessen the desire of those who regard you as responsible for setting back the clock of civilization to cooperate with you in the future."

"The only explanation I can find for this extraordinary, the entirely unexpected course upon the part of the Americans, is that in your great na-

"I cannot definitely say," Earl Grey replied. "It may be that your Government and people feared internal trouble due to your mixed and unassimilated population. Governments have often brought on wars to avert domestic friction. I may be that in this instance yours hesitated, and not unreasonably, to contemplate war which would, in all probability, up to quite recently have created serious domestic friction."

"I am sure it is true that the majority of people in the United States wish to act, if possible, in accordance with the highest ethical motives upon which national actions can be based. I am entirely willing to declare my faith in that."

"I sincerely I am sure, although there are many who are not, that as

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